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SPEECH OF

Hon. Samuel S. Cox,

ON MISCEGENATION AND SLAVERY.

Delivered in the House of Congress on Wednes-

day, February 17th, 1864.

The Bill, To establish a Bureau of Freed-

men's Affairs, being under consideration,

Mr. Cox had the floor and proceeded to

speech. He first discussed some constitu-

tional points that enter into the question,

and then continued as follows:

"But," it is urged, "something must be

done for the poor blacks. They are perishing

by thousands. We must look the great

fact of anti-slavery and its millions of en-

franchised victims in the face and legislate

for their relief." Such is the appeal to our

kindler natures. Something should be done.

The humanity which so long pined the

plumage should not forget the living bird.

But what can be done without violating the

Constitution of the United States, or with-

out trenching upon a domain never grant-

ed by the States or the people in their writ-

ten charter of powers? What can be done?

Oh, honey-tongued humanitarians of

New England, with your coffers filled from

the rough hand of western toil, the heaved

sweat of whose industry by the subtle

alchemy of your inventive genius is trans-

mitted into the jewels of your parvenu and

shoddy splendor, with your dividends rising

higher and higher like waves under this

storm of war, I would beseech you to go

into the camps of the contrabands, as the

gentleman described them, who are starv-

ing and pining for their old homes, and lift

them out of the mire into which your im-

provident and premature schemes have

dragged them, pour the oil of healing into

their wounds, and save a few of them at

least from the doom of extermination. Here

is a fitting and logical opportunity for the ex-

ercise of a gracious humanity. I rejoice

to know that many good men, even from

New England, have embraced it.

But the gentleman urges this legislation,

because if it be not passed, the President's

proclamation will be made "a living lie."

He thinks that "neither the considerate

judgment of mankind nor the gracious

favor of God can be invoked upon the Pres-

ident's act of freedom, unless the law shall

protect the freedom which the sword has

declared." Not merely has the President's

proclamation been made a living lie, but the

thousands of corpses daily hurried along

the contraband hovel and tents along the

Mississippi prove it to have been a deadly

lie. Neither the judgment of man, nor the

favor of God can be invoked without mock-

ery upon a fanatical project so fraught

with misery to the weak and wholesale

slaughter to its deluded victims!

But we are warned to look the great fact

in the face that millions unfit for freedom

are yet to become free. I know, Mr. Speak-

er, that we cannot change that fact by clos-

ing our eyes. It is true. The revolution

rolls on. No effort on the part of the De-

mocracy to achieve a peace through concil-

iation will now be listened to. The spirit of

those in power is the spirit of extermina-

tion. The war with its revolutions goes on

and slavery as a political if not as a so-

cial institution may fall under its crushing

car. It may be that all of the four million

slaves will be thrown, like the one hundred

thousand already freed, upon the frigid

charities of the world. But, sir, if slavery

be doomed, so, alas! is the slave. No slave

like this bill can save him. The Indian re-

serves, treaties, bounties, and agencies did

not and does not save the red man. No

Government farming system, no charitable

black scheme, can wash out the color of the

negro, change his inferior nature, or save

him from his inevitable fate. The irrespec-

table conflict is not between slavery and

freedom, but between black and white; and

as DeToqueville prophesied, the black will

perish.

Do gentlemen on the other side rely upon

the new system, called by the transcendental

Abolitionists "Miscegenation," to save the

black? This is but another name for amal-

gamation; but it will not save the negro.

True, Wendell Phillips says it is "God's own

method of crushing out the hatred of race,

and of civilizing and elevating the world,"

and Theodore Tilton, the editor of the In-

dependent (a paper publishing the views of

the United States by authority), holds that

hereafter the "negro will lose his typical

blackness and be found clad in white men's

skins." But, sir, no system so repugnant to

the nature of our race—and to organize

which doubtless the next Congress of Pro-

gressives, and perhaps the gentleman from

Massachusetts, will practically provide—

can save the negro.

Mr. Eliot—I have no doubt that my

friend understands all about it.

Mr. Cox—I understand all about it, for I

have the doctrines laid down in circulars,

pamphlets, and books published by your an-

ti-slavery people. But it was not my in-

tention to discuss it now and upon this bill.

Mr. Price—If all the blacks are crushed

out, how is amalgamation to ruin the coun-

try?

Mr. Cox—They will all run, according to

the new gospel of abolition, into the white

people, on that side of the House. (Laugh-

ter.)

Mr. Eliot—Is that what the gentleman is

afraid of?

Mr. Cox—No, sir, for I do not believe that

the doctrine of miscegenation, or the amal-

gamation of the white and black, now

strenuously urged by the Abolition leaders,

will save the negro. It will destroy him

utterly. The physiologist will tell the gen-

tleman that the mulatto does not live; he

does not recreate his kind; he is a non-

entity.

Such hybrid races, by a law of Provi-

dence, scarcely survive beyond one gen-

eration. I promise the gentleman at some

future and appropriate time, when better

prepared to develop that idea of miscegen-

ation as now heralded by the Abolitionists,

who are in the van of the Republican move-

ment.

Mr. Eliot—I hope that the gentleman will

go into

Mr. Cox—If such be the desire of the

gentleman I will attempt it, though re-

luctantly; for my materials, like the doc-

trine, are a little "mixed."

But since I am challenged to exhibit this

doctrine of the Abolitionists—called after

some Greek words—miscegenation—to mix

and generate—I call your attention first

to a circular in my hand, in my hand, it is

repeated at the Cooper Institute the other

night, when a female who, in the presence

of the President, Vice President, and you,

Mr. Speaker, and your associates in this

Hall, made the same saucy speech for abo-

lition which she addressed to the people of

New York. It begins with the following

significant quotation from Shakespeare:

"So mixed in him that Nature might stand up

and say to all the world, This was a man!"

(Laughter.)

Miscegenation: the Theory of the Blending of

Races, applied to the American White Man and

Negro. Among the subjects treated of are:

1. The mixture of Caucasian and African Blood

Essential to American Progress. (Laughter.)

2. How the American may become Comely.

3. The Type Man a Mixture—The Sphinx Middle

Southern.

4. The Irish and Negro first to Commingle.

5. Heart History of the Daughters of the South